The Top FBI Man Who Thought FDR A Red Agent, P. 3

Remember That Base and Slothful Coward Who Told People to Turn The Other Cheek?

"It is to be hoped that the exaltation of the ideal of peace may not favor the cowardice of those who fear that it may be their duty to give their lives for the service of their own country . . . and who seek only a flight from their responsibility. . . . Peace is not pacifism; it does not mask a base and slothful concept of life."

—Pope Paul VI proposing that New Year's Day be declared A Day of Peace.

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Who Sold Ike This Mad Blueprint For A Holy War in Asia?

In his memoirs Eisenhower wrote that in 1954 when he was being pressed to intervene militarily in Vietnam, he remarked that "if the United States were, unilaterally, to permit its forces to be drawn into conflict in Indochina and in a succession of Asian wars, the end result would be to drain off our resources and to weaken our overall defensive position." But now in his interview with the *New York Times* (Dec. 24) he implies that all Asia up to the Indian border—"and I'm not too sure about India either"—depends on our keeping South Vietnam "free and independent". The "dominoes" we must keep from falling extend to Japan and the Philippines. In all these countries he says "the will to resist" Communism will disappear if we do not win the war. This goes far beyond that "hot pursuit" into Cambodia and Laos or that "end run" into southern North Vietnam which Eisenhower and Gen. Bradley advocated in an amazingly light-headed television appearance some weeks earlier. This is nothing less than widening the war from a limited conflict in South Vietnam to an open-ended American obligation to maintain a military protectorate over all non-Communist Asia. This is to invite a gigantic hemorrhage of American manpower and resources.

Afraid to Be Too Candid

Eisenhower said the American people would be ready to see the Vietnamese war through to victory "once they understand" what is at stake. But he himself is not prepared to be wholly candid with them. For after arguing the danger to Japan and the Philippines, Eisenhower added, "Probably the less said about that right now the better, but the plain fact is that no prosperous free society based on the private enterprise system can expect to exist indefinitely alongside a sprawling police state like Communist China and its satellites." This hints that ultimately we must wipe out Communism in China, North Korea and North Vietnam to make Japan and the Philippines as well as Southeast Asia and Indonesia secure. *"Probably the less said about that right now the better"* because if the American people were to become fully aware of what they were being sucked into, they would be more eager than ever to get out of Vietnam. Eisenhower says we cannot turn our backs on 13,000 dead in Vietnam. It would be better to stop now and consider that it might cost 13,000,000 lives to wage war against China.

This ideological view, implying that a war of such dimensions is inevitable, is very different from those Eisenhower held as President. Early in his Presidency, he also tells us in his memoirs, he called in Senate leaders to block a rightist resolution which would have cut off all U.S. contributions to the United Nations if

(*Continued on Page Four*)

How Do You Count Bases You Can't Find?

"Intelligence officers in Vietnam say that the enemy uses six base and sanctuary areas in Cambodia."

—Hanson Baldwin, New York Times, *Dec. 28.*

"There are reports of at least 20 base camps along the Cambodian border."

—Week in Review, New York Times, *Dec. 31.*

"Despite all the speculation in recent weeks about a possible 'escalation' of the war into Cambodia and Laos, American military leaders are not much more concerned about enemy sanctuaries in those countries than they have been for the last two years.

"If all the political problems were removed, formidable military problems would remain. . . . The key problem is intelligence. . . . There are many unanswered questions about just where the base camps are. . . . To send troops into suspected areas . . . would involve a serious danger . . . [they] might be lured into well prepared ambushes and wiped out. . . . The other major alternative would be to hit the enemy base camps from the air . . . but the basic problem would remain: precisely where is the enemy located?"

—Orr Kelly from the Pentagon in Wash. Star *Dec. 17*

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The CIA Proved As Poorly Informed As It Was in The Bay of Pigs Affair

Greece As An Object Lesson in The Failure of U.S. Intelligence

One aspect of last year's events in Greece has gone unnoted. It was the failure of U.S. intelligence in the coup of April 21 and the King's attempted counter-coup of December 13. One of the favorite arguments for military aid is that it gives the U.S. influence with the military caste of the recipient country. Yet the U.S. was taken by surprise when a junta of Colonels and Captains jumped the gun on the Big Junta of the Generals, the King and the U.S. Embassy * and established a dictatorship of their own last April, making the King their prisoner. When the King in December, with U.S. encouragement, tried to rally the Army and the people behind him, the U.S. was again caught unaware of the realities.

Even the Banks Remained Open

Greece has been a U.S. protectorate since 1947. Yet we did not know how weak were the Royalist Generals, how powerful the network of the Colonels and the Captains, how indifferent the people were to the King. The Generals favorable to him were quickly arrested by their own subordinates. The King's appeal evoked a yawn. The Junta did not even have to close the banks the day the King fled!

On the political side, U.S. policy in Greece has been based on the belief that the Monarchy was the foundation of stability, and rested on a deep loyalty among the people. This has proven wholly untrue. The CIA misjudged popular feeling in Greece as badly as it misjudged popular feeling in Cuba at the time of the Bay of Pigs. On the military side, the events of April and December are almost incredible. It must have taken months of organization in a widespread conspiracy within the Army to organize the April seizure of power. How is it that our military intelligence knew so little about what was going on in the Greek armed forces?

Even nine months later we were still so poorly informed that we allowed our protege', the King, to attempt a hopeless counter-coup. It was hopeless because the Generals no longer controlled the Army.

We were as blind about Constantine as we were about Ngo Dinh Diem, whose collapse also was unlamented. Not the least of the hazards implicit in our attempt to police the world are the disasters into which we may be—and have been—drawn by such extraordinarily faulty intelligence. The blurred eyes and stuffed ears of the CIA yet may prove a greater menace to national security than any outside enemy.

With U.S. Help, In The Name of Freedom

Ditto for Vietnam, Greece and Korea

"Four years after a military faction took power and deceived the Armed Forces to satisfy the political ambitions of a half-dozen opportunists, the people are ever poorer. . . . Politically Brazil has regressed. The errors have been maintained and the means of correcting them prohibited."

—Former Governor Carlos Lacerda, a right-winger, once the darling of Readers' Digest, *in a speech at Rio do Janeiro Dec. 27 in which he accused the Brazilian military regime of corruption "at the service of private American interests."*

*** For the best account we recommend "The Death of A Democracy: Greece and the American Conscience" by Stephen Rousseas (Grove Press) which is written with the burning indignation this shameful story deserves.**

Fulbright Challenges Acheson's Cynical Defense of the Greek Military Junta

"Constitutional government and democracy are not the same thing. Britain has had the longest constitutional history of any state. But Britain had been a democracy for less than a century. Then, too, democracy is a slippery word. Athenian democracy was an oligarchy bottomed on slavery. The far flung Peoples Democratic Republics are based upon a system our rhetoric likens to slavery.

"Finally may I urge caution in warning them against 'authoritarian rule.' Greeks both ancient and modern have had grave trouble when they experimented with nonauthoritarian rule. (Probably modern Greeks have as little to do with ancient Greeks, as modern Brooklynites with their pre-Columbian predecessors.) Both had trouble from instability and poor judgment. Athens' greatest statesman, Pericles, led his city into a war in which it lost independence, constitution and democracy. In modern times Greece made sounder progress toward stable statehood under a half century of strong rule by King George I than at any time since. Certainly no friend of Greece would wish to see her return to the "constitutional government" of the two Papandreous the old fool and the young rascal, under which she was headed for Kerensky-like chaos, and possibly war with Turkey."

—Abridged from a letter by Dean Acheson to the Washington Post *Dec. 20 objecting to an editorial advising the Greek Colonels to restore constitutional government.*

"I note with interest Mr. Acheson's friendly feelings for the Greek dictators. Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 24, 1947, Mr. Acheson, then Acting Secretary of State, urged adoption of the Greek-Turkish aid program on the ground that, if we failed to provide such aid, 'the rule of an armed minority would fasten itself upon the people of Greece.'

"Making the same point even more explicitly, Mr. Acheson said: 'We would not, of course, want to continue this aid if we should find that our efforts were being frustrated by anti-democratic practices'."

—From Sen. Fulbright's reply, Washington Post *Dec. 28*

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Philby Lifts the Curtain on a Peculiar Mentality

The FBI Deputy Director Who Thought FDR A Comintern Agent!

On December 18 *Izvestia* published an interview with Harold A. R. Philby who fled to Moscow in 1963 after several decades as a double-agent planted by the Soviet secret service in British intelligence. A translation filled a full page of the *New York Times* Dec. 19. Philby worked closely with the FBI and the CIA. The most fascinating part of the interview for Americans was his recollections of D. Milton Ladd, who until his retirement in 1954 was a deputy director of the FBI. Philby said Ladd made "an indelible impression" because "this astonishingly dense personage tried to convince me in all seriousness that Franklin Roosevelt was a Comintern agent."

A Library for Witch Hunters

This will not surprise those aware of the rightist paranoia prevalent in the FBI. I recall that during World War II, I published in the newspaper PM a series exposing the kind of loyalty interrogations to which Federal employes were even then being subjected by the FBI. Employes were asked whether they had ever entertained Negroes or subscribed to liberal publications like *The Nation.* The year after Ladd retired, he and Stanley J. Tracey, another retired assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, founded a free public library in Washington to provide information about subversive groups and individuals. This was the height of McCarthyism (J. Edgar Hoover was himself a great admirer of McCarthy). It is easy to imagine the kind of information this library provided.

While liberal connections were grounds for suspicion, Fascist sympathies seemed to be a recommendation. Philby says he rose in British intelligence and won the confidence of men like Ladd in the FBI and Allen Dulles in the CIA by his success in posing as a Fascist sympathizer. He was decorated by Franco during the Spanish Civil War and enjoyed warm relations with Hitler's Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. Philby was an active member in the pro-Nazi Anglo-German Friendship Society. This past seems to have convinced his colleagues in both Britain and America that Philby was a dependable fellow.

Philby seems to be a bit of a liberal, for he told a *London Sunday Times* writer that he deplored the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial as "a regrettable reversion to the old spirit." But that, of course, was not published in *Izvestia.*

What Soviet Youth Finds Inspiring in the USA

"Freedom of speech and of the press is, first of all, freedom for criticism. Nobody has ever forbidden praise of the Government. If in the [Soviet] Constitution there are articles about freedom of speech and of the press, then have the patience to listen to criticism. In what kinds of countries is it forbidden to criticize the government and protest against its actions? Perhaps in capitalist countries? No. We know that in bourgeois countries Communist parties exist whose purpose it is to undermine the capitalist system. In the USA the Communist party was suppressed. However, the Supreme Court declared that the suppression was unconstitutional and restored the Communist party to its full rights."

—Vladimir I. Bukovsky, in a Soviet court last Sept. 1, where he was sentenced to 3 years in prison for organizing a street demonstration to protest the arrest of the editors of an underground literary magazine. (Text in New York Times *Dec. 27.)*

Rare Eye-Witness Account: How We "Pacify" Them and Brutalize Ourselves

Xuan Dai, South Vietnam—Little fires were still burning in the ruins. Frightened baby chicks chirped frantically in search of their mothers. From the charred entry of one of the buildings, a middle-aged peasant woman tentatively poked her head, then emerged with a puzzled-looking little boy. Quickly another much older looking woman followed her and then several more children.

"Hey you, get over there," a tow-headed Marine, barely 20, shouted at the women and children. Slowly they padded silently where he pointed. American jet bombers demolished this village with tons of bombs and napalm. The Communist troops had stolen away before dawn. Only the women and children were left.

"We should have killed them all," said the young Marine, jabbing his M16 rifle in the direction of the crowd of women and children. "There's eight Marine bodies lying on the landing zone across the rice paddies."

An old man with a dirty gray beard clinging to a little boy with large burn blisters on the back of his neck, extended a tin can and pleaded for water. "Don't give him any," the Marine shouted to his buddy. "Let them starve, let them die." Wordlessly another Marine extended his canteen and filled the man's cup.

Communist troops, firing from entrenchments on the tree line in front of the village, killed or wounded an entire Marine platoon on Thursday as it advanced across the rice paddies. It was not until Friday, right after the air strikes, that Marines dared enter the village.

Marines counted the spoils—two malaria-ridden men, blindfolded and shaking, held on suspicion, and several "captured" weapons, all of them rusted. As night fell women and children started crying. The intelligence sergeant asked what was wrong, and the interpreter reported they were "starving."

"Won't anyone feed these people?" the Sergeant asked. An officer, assigned to both calling in air strikes and directing civil affairs, said he'd see what he could do. "First I annihilate them and then I rehabilitate them," he said, laughing at his own joke.

—Donald Kirk in the Washington Star *Dec. 31. (Abr.)*

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Hitler and Tojo, Too, Claimed to Be Bulwarks Against Communism

(*Continued from Page One*)

Communist China were admitted. He then told the Senators that the United Nations was "essential because global war is now unthinkable as a result of the development of new and devastating weapons." He added a remarkably non-ideological argument. He said it was not wise "to tie our hands irrevocably" in advance against admission of Communist China. "Just think back to 1945," he went on, "when Germany was our deadly enemy; who could then have foreseen that in only a few years it would become a friendly associate?"

The Next Hiroshimas May Be Closer Home

To argue that we ought not to tie our hands in advance against admission of Communist China to the UN because national alliances may shift was to imply that some turn of events might make us allies instead of enemies. Indeed this is what happened in 1941 with Russia. The main talking point of the Nazis in Europe and of the Japanese military in Asia was that "private enterprise" could not survive unless Communism were destroyed. But when it came to the crunch Nazi Germany made an alliance with Stalin and first struck at the West while the Japanese at their end of the Axis hit not at the Soviet Union but at Western possessions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific as far as Pearl Harbor. German and Japanese expansionism were only defeated by an alliance between Western Capitalism and the Soviet Union, with the aid of the Communist resistance movements all over Asia. The anti-Communism of Berlin and Tokyo proved only a smoke-screen to hide their own imperialist aims. It is a pity we do not recall this now as we urge Japan to follow West Germany's example and rearm. For those arms may again be turned against us. The tight island is far more likely to burst its bounds again than the vast mass of China. The nuclear weapons we are urging on Japan may some day fall upon us.

Unless Eisenhower can be persuaded to recover his cool, his stand may deprive the country of any choice in 1968 and the party of the only issue on which it can win the coming election. He disavows any ambition to be a kingmaker. But he serves notice that he will try to veto any peace candidate. By singling out Romney—the nearest equivalent to a dove among the main contenders—for disapproval, Eisenhower must chill even an equivocal position on the war. This would shut the door on any attempt to repeat the party's strategy in 1952 and pledge itself to "do an Eisenhower in Vietnam" as he himself did by making peace in Korea. Now Eisenhower speaks instead in the Holy War accents of John Foster Dulles and blows the bugle for ever widening war in Asia. Is this the course Johnson has secretly charted? Is it he who got Eisenhower to enlist?

Not in the U.S. Press

How Freedom Escalates In Thailand

"Bangkok—Thailand's Constituent Assembly has deleted an article in the new constitution, now being drafted, which would have guaranteed unrestricted press freedom. The article, rejected by 82 votes to 3, would have prohibited the government from closing newspapers or placing them under censorship except in wartime, during a state of emergency, or under martial law. It would also have prevented the government from subsidizing newspapers. Official sources say the article will not be replaced."

—The Times *(London) December 15.*

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